1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*wasus ruyas*), and banana trees (*tsi idaidat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*maidot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

249 Urucú is a plant bearing a pod, The
386 interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

244 Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and
[243] sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

244 Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks
242 of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

243 The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

244 Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know
462 how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon
[241] learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The
[482] wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *zotét*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *zokotdomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.